

## **Syllabus for Ph.D Programme in Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies (Southeast Asian and Southwest Pacific Studies)**

**Course Teacher: Professor Shankari Sundararaman**

**Course Title: Regional Security in Southeast Asia**

**Course No: SA 646 N**

**Credits: 4**

**Course Duration: One Semester (Monsoon Semester)**

**Lectures: 4 hours per week.**

**Evaluation Method:** Sessional Work (Comprising book review and term paper) and Semester Examinations (Mid-semester and End-Semester). Sessional work 40 %/ End Semester 60%.

**Introduction:** This course offered in the second semester of the PhD course work is critically linked to the first semester course on *Colonialism, Nationalism and Neo-Colonialism in Southeast Asia*. The course offers an assessment of how historical factors shaped the regional security architecture, impacting how states define their individual and collective approaches to regional security. The course clearly outlines how colonialism shaped the discourse on security in the region and how neo-colonialism in the form of the three Vietnam wars led to the Cold War's impact on the region. It also highlights the evolution of ASEAN processes and looks at the theoretical approaches to regional security. The course will also have a rigorous approach on the theoretical debates with regards to security debates that have emerged in Southeast Asia.

**Objectives:** The objective of this course is to understand the security issues that are particularly significant to the region of Southeast Asia. In terms of understanding regional conflicts the course aims at looking at both intra-state and interstate disputes and how these have emerged in the region post the decolonization period and the emergence of newly independent states. Some of these conflicts have a historical genesis which is best understood from the manner in which the ASEAN processes shaped the resolution of such conflicts like in the case of the *konfrantasi*. This course is actually critically linked to the region's historical evolution covered in a first course offered by me on Colonialism, nationalism and neocolonialism in Southeast Asia which has some of the core elements that remain important in this course too. Understanding of regional security lies in a detailed comprehension of the evolution of the states in the region. The modules highlighted below give a clear emphasis on the course outline and structure.

### **Learning Outcomes:**

1. Learn how history and politics create an interface in understanding the security paradigms within Southeast Asia.
2. Understand how the region of Southeast Asia faces challenges based on the regions geographic division of the mainland and island states, particularly in relevance to the maritime issues.
3. Identify the role that Great power politics has had on the region of Southeast Asia and where the regional states need to find balance between the powers that engage the region.

4. Understand how intrastate and interstate violence and conflict in Southeast Asia have evolved historically and what avenues were used to find resolution of these conflicts.
5. Learn to analyze through reading, writing and presentations to acquire skills in interpretation of research materials.

**Modules:**

1. Different approaches to the Study of Regional Security: Western versus non-Western approaches; Strategic Cultures vs Security Practice approaches.
2. Definition of Security: Differences in the concepts of security in the Third World or Global South and Security in the more advanced Western World, different levels of security – social and economic, the conflict of nations and states, the vulnerability and penetrability of political structures and economic systems, perceptions of self and others, and position within international relations of power.
3. Theoretical approaches to the study of Southeast Asian Security – Realism, Constructivism, Regional Security Complex and Southeast Asia, Consociational Security Order, which basically draws its relevance from various other theoretical approaches will be studied. Comparative politics within these nations offers an insight into how these states in Southeast Asia behave viz-a-viz the
4. Southeast Asian Security Complex: Nature of autonomy of Southeast Asian International System, Linkages between external and internal security in Southeast Asia, how the impact of the internal has external ramifications, linkages between national and regional security, impact of threat perceptions on regional security; Southeast Asian concepts of regional and national resilience.
5. Sources of threat to security in Southeast Asia: Internal and domestic political conflict and instability resulting from lack of consensus, and societal cohesion on the basic goals and direction of the State. Domestic transition in authoritarian states ; Ethnic and communal tensions, sub-national grievances and insurgencies, nature of state and lack of popular involvement in decision making process.
6. Conflicts in Southeast Asia: Territorial disputes prior to the formation of ASEAN – Ligitan and Sipitan islands, conflict over Sabah and Sarawak, Konfrontasi and ASEAN formation in 1967. Cold war in Southeast Asia -The Indo-China Wars, Role of external powers in the Indochina Wars and subsequent rapprochement with Indochina. Vertical and Horizontal Conflicts within the nation-states including ethnic and separatist conflict, communal / sectarian conflict, religious separatist conflict, centre and periphery divides. Detailed study in this context of intra-state conflicts such as the Aceh and Papuan conflicts will be assessed. This will also look at the issues in Southern Thailand, southern Philippines etc which are challenges to the intrastate tensions within these countries.
7. Regional Security Institutions in Southeast Asia: The role of the TAC, ZOPFAN and SEANWFZ, the move to establish these with the linkage between Track I and Track II; Role of “epistemic communities” as diplomatic actors case study of ASEAN ISIS (Institutes for Strategic and International Studies). This section will focus on the management of regional stresses through the conception of the ASEAN and how great power challenges to the region was critical to the formation of the regional grouping.
8. Multilateral Security Mechanisms: Role of ASEAN, Moving towards an ASEAN Security Community; ARF, ADMM+, EAMF, EAS, ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific moving towards the core security identification in the Indo-Pacific. AUKUS as a trilateral mechanism in the Indo-Pacific, minilaterals, QUAD, IPEF.
9. Post cold war regional security challenges: major power play in Southeast Asia, rise of China and impact on regional stability as espoused by ASEAN; Challenges to the existing global order and normative role of ASEAN in the region. India and ASEAN – natural partners? Indian Naval Diplomacy; South China Sea, Non-traditional security threats such as SARS, Avian Flu, maritime security, environmental disasters, piracy, Covid 19 and its implications etc.

### Select Readings:

Nayan Chanda, *Brother Enemy: The War after the War*, Harcourt, 1986.

Grant Evans and Kelvin Rowley: *Red Brotherhood at War: Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos Since 1975*, Verso, 1990.

Mohammed Ayoob, *Third World Security Predicament: State making, Regional Conflict and International System (Emerging Global Issues)*, Lynne Rienner, New York, 1995.

Mohammed Ayoob (edited), *Regional Security in the Third World: Case Studies from Southeast Asia and the Middle East*, Routledge, 2011.

Mely Anthony, *Regional Security in Southeast Asia: Beyond the ASEAN Way*, ISEAS Singapore, 2005.

Joseph Chinyong Liow and Ralf Emmers (eds.), *Order and Security in Southeast Asia: Essays in Memory of Michael Leifer*, Routledge, London and New York, 2006.

Robert Wirsing and Ehsan Ahrari, *Fixing Fractured Nations: The Challenge of Ethnic Separatism in the Asia-Pacific*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2010.

Erik Paul, *Obstacles to Democratization in Southeast Asia: A Study of Nation-state, Regional and Global Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, Critical Studies of the Asia-Pacific Series, 2010.

Jorn Dosch, *The Changing Dynamics of Southeast Asian Politics*, Viva books, 2010.

Peter Shearman (ed.), *Power Transition and International Order in Asia: Issues and Challenges*, Routledge 2014.

Amitav Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problems of Regional Order*, Routledge, London, 3rd edition, 2014.

Amitav Acharya, Power Shift or Paradigm Shift? China's Rise and Asia's Emerging Security Order, *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 58, Issue 1, March 2014, Pages 158–173, <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12084>

Jing Nuang and Andrew Billo (eds.), *Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: Navigating Rough Waters*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Alan Collins, *Security and Southeast Asia: Domestic, Regional and Global Issues*, Viva Books, 2017.

Joseph Chinyong Liow, *Ambivalent Engagement: The United States and Regional Security in Southeast Asia After The Cold War*, Brookings Institution, 2017.

David L. Shambaugh, *Where Great Powers Meet: America and China in Southeast Asia*, Oxford University Press, 2021.

Amitav Acharya, *ASEAN and Regional Order: Revisiting Security Community in Southeast Asia*, Routledge, 2021.

Barbara Kratiuk, Jeroen J.J. Van den Bosch, Aleksandra Jaskolska and Yoichiro Sato (eds), *Handbook of Indo-Pacific Studies*, Routledge (New York London) 2023.

Tommy Koh, Hernaik Singh and Moe Thuzar (eds), *ASEAN and India: The Way Forward*, World Scientific, Singapore, 2023

*# Several Journal Articles are updated Each year. Reading List will remain dynamic and subject to changes.*